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La Negrita

CAROLYN L. GAINES

Mugo-Son-Of-Gatheru

MARTIN L. KILSON, JR.

American-Panamanian Relations

GEORGE W. WESTERMAN

Ralph Ellison — Fiction Winner

Light On "Invisible Man"

RALPH ELLISON

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MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY

THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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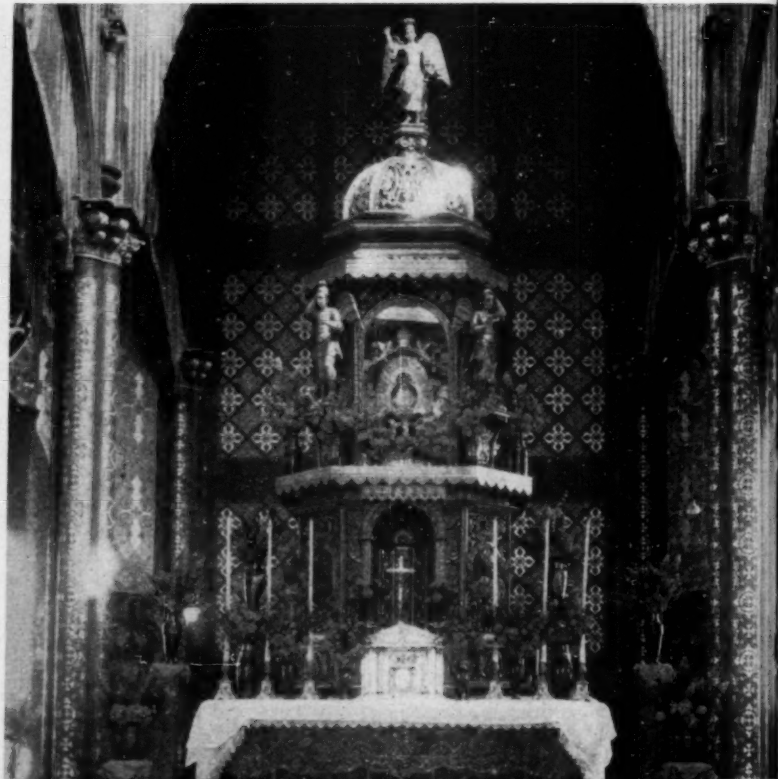

National Tourist Board, Costa Rica

THIS *is the altar of Our Lady of the Angels Church at Cartago, Costa Rica. "La Negrita" is in the panel in the second tier just above the cross.*

■ **This little Negro girl is held in reverence by the people of Central America**

La Negrita

By Carolyn L. Gaines

AN all white country affectionately calls its most treasured possession "La Negrita," or, in English, the little Negro girl. It is a dark, stone image of the Virgin Mary and child, a bare five inches high, and the patron saint of the country of Costa Rica.

The people of Costa Rica, along with others from all over Central America and Mexico, hold the Negrita in reverence and make pilgrimages to her shrine. The largest crowd gathers on August 2 each year, the image's special day. That day is, in fact, a national holiday in Costa Rica. It commemorates the day in 1635 when, according to legend, the image was found.

As the story goes, a young slave was about her tasks, gathering firewood in the forest, when she came upon the glowing image. Some authors say the girl was a Negro, but as there were few in the country, it is more likely that she was a native, dark-skinned Indian, pressed into slavery.

The girl was enchanted with the image and took it home. She hid it carefully, and told no one about it. The next day, back at work again, the girl came to the same spot in the forest and thought she found another image. Home she dashed with it, only to discover that the first had disappeared. Once more the cycle repeated itself. By now the poor girl could not bear to keep her secret alone. She told some of her neighbors of the image and its flight back into the woods.

These good people, convinced it was a miracle, spread the news to the village Roman Catholic priest. The priest, like the girl, went into the woods and tried to remove the image, this time to the local church. Once again it returned to the forest. After this performance the church fathers decided it must be the wish of the Virgin that a shrine be built at that very spot in the woods to shelter the image.

According to a priest's account, the Negrita wanted to make the whites of the town remember that dark-skinned peoples and whites are all sons of one God, and consequently, brothers. For this reason, she chose a site in the area where the

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CAROLYN L. GAINES, *a recent visitor to Costa Rica, lives in Stamford, Connecticut.*

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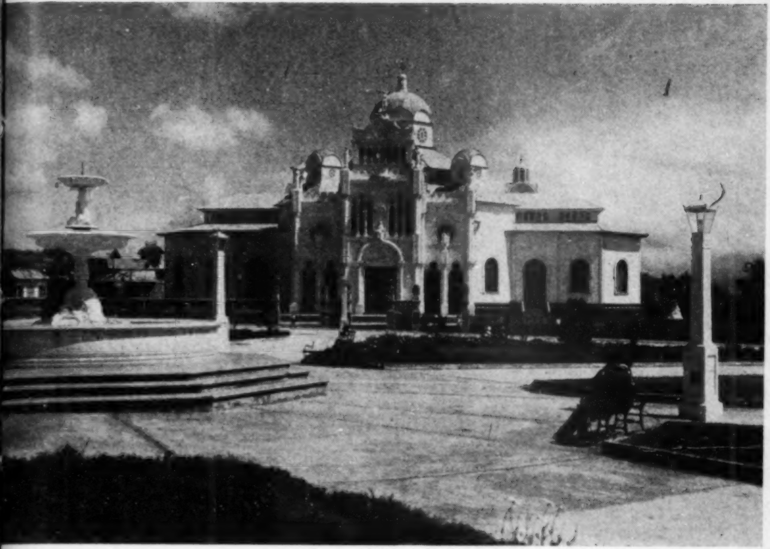

NTB Costa Rica

PLAZA *fronting Our Lady of the Angels Church, Cartago, Costa Rica.*

dark-skinned slaves were forced to live.

The shrine has remained in the same place for these hundreds of years, but Cartago, the oldest city of Costa Rica, gradually expanded until it surrounded the church. Since Cartago has many times been subjected to earthquakes, the present structure housing the Negrita is the fifth to be built. The previous ones were destroyed in earthquakes in 1715, 1822, 1841, and 1910.

The church today is a large Romanesque edifice. Its rather Oriental interior has walls entirely covered in abstract designs that create interesting color patterns when the light streams in the high windows. The tiny figure of the Virgin, or Our Lady of the Angels as the Negrita is officially called, is the focal point of a tremendous altar, over a hundred times the height of the actual statue. The Negrita is elaborately adorned in a crown, mantle and framing of gold and jewels worth a sizeable fortune.

So rich is the treasure, thieves

(*Continued on page* 190)

←

THIS *unadorned figure of "La Negrita" is only 5 inches high and when adorned in its gold, jewels and mantle only the face is visible.*

■ Why American immigration authorities are interested in this inoffensive African student

Mugo-Son-of-Gatheru

By *Martin L. Kilson, Jr.*

THE most recent step towards the perpetuation of ignorance among the peoples of Africa has now taken the form of a deportation proceeding, instituted by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Authorities against Reuel Mugo Gatheru, a student from Kenya, East Africa, who is presently attending Lincoln university, Pennsylvania.

It all began back in September, 1952, when Gatheru, better known as Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, was interrogated for more than two hours by an agent of the United States Immigration Office. The agent asked Mugo numerous questions concerning, among other things, his personal political beliefs, his feelings concerning the Korean war, and his feelings toward British colonialism.

After the agent had completed his thorough interrogation of Mugo, he assured Mugo that all would go well and that there was nothing for him to worry about. Nevertheless on November 5, 1952, Mugo-son-of-Gatheru received an official order from the Immigration and Naturalization Service district office in Philadelphia stating that he should voluntarily leave the country by December 5, 1952, or else face arrest and subsequent deportation. The arrival of the deportation order immediately resulted in the formation of an organization called "The Friends of Gatheru," whose purpose is to protest the action, raise funds for Mugo's defense, and to ensure an American education for Mugo-son-of-Gatheru.

As far as the charges against Mugo are concerned, it was stated by a spokesman of the Department of Justice on December 4, 1952, that Mugo had obtained a visa fraudulently by not telling the American Embassy in London that he had been denied a visa prior to his coming to London (*New York Times*, December 5, 1952). This contention, however, is false because Mugo did did not actually apply for a visa before coming to London and thus could not have been denied one. On the contrary, he applied for a "cer-

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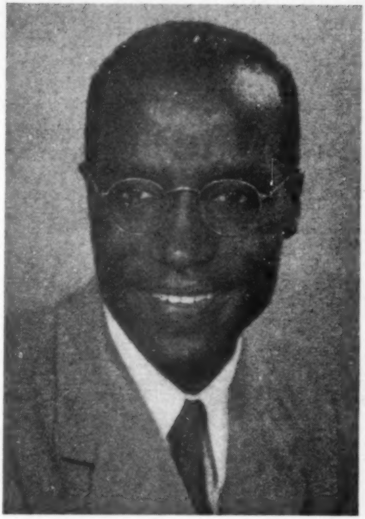
MARTIN L. KILSON, JR., *is a senior at Lincoln university, Pennsylvania, majoring in political science.*

tificate of good conduct," which is not, in itself, a visa: as we shall see below.

The spokesman of the Department of Justice also stated that "we [the immigration authorities] also have confidential information that makes him [Mugo] deportable under the Internal Security Act." As a possible answer to this contention, Professor St. Clair Drake of Roosevelt college, Chicago, Illinois, states in a letter to the editors of *The Nation* magazine (December 27, 1952) that the immigration authorities will probably try to pin the subversive label on Mugo "because of his close association with some of us at Roosevelt college who were unfairly smeared some years ago by the infamous Broyles Committee." Nevertheless, it is the general consensus here at Lincoln that the British colonial office is spearheading the attempt to deport Mugo-son-of-Gatheru. Be that as it may, let us, for a moment, look at the background facts of the case.

BACKGROUND FACTS

In 1948 Mugo-son-of-Gatheru received a scholarship to attend Roosevelt college in Chicago. He immediately applied for a certificate of good conduct from the Kenya government which, if secured, would permit him to obtain a visa from the American consul in Kenya. Unfortunately Mugo was refused the certificate of good conduct because, so contended the Kenya government, of his activities while in Kenya. For one thing, Mugo had been affiliated with the Kenya African Union (KAU), a political organization in Kenya that seeks political and social change through constitutional means, and he also acted as one of the associate editors for its official organ, the *African Voice*. Moreover, the Kenya government contended that Mugo had written letters to English newspapers inquiring about the right of Africans to vote. All of this, of course, was held to be "illegal activity," so to speak, and thus grounds for refusing Mugo the certificate of good conduct. As a matter of fact, however, the certificate of good conduct is, primarily, a device used by the colonial authorities for the purpose of preventing the "undesirable" (i.e., those who demand basic human rights for their people, and who are opposed to the exploitative colonial system) Kenyans from leaving



REUEL MUGO GATHERU

the country for the purpose of studying abroad.

Mugo, however, did not let this oppressive device (i.e., the certificate of good conduct) prevent him from seeking satisfaction for his enormous desire to acquire an education—a desire that could not be satisfied in his native Kenya, even though Mugo tried exceedingly hard to find it. For instance, he attended a medical training school in Nairobi, Kenya, for two years and also took a correspondence course with an English institution. This, however, was not satisfactory for such an ambitious student as Mugo-son-of-Gatheru. Consequently Mugo availed himself of the right of a British subject to travel anywhere within the British Commonwealth without first securing a certificate of good conduct.

In 1949 Mugo went to India where he attended a Catholic college for one year. Then, with the aid of his hardworking mother, who sold all of the family cattle and livestock in order to aid her son financially, Mugo went to London, England. In March, 1950, he applied at the American Embassy in London for a visitor's visa to enter the United States, and it was granted him. Mugo entered the United States in April, 1950, and since then has studied briefly at Roosevelt college in Chicago; at Bethune-Cookman college in Florida; and is now studying at Lincoln university, Pennsylvania, on a scholarship awarded him by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln university, in the fall of 1951.

The significance of Mugo's struggle with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Authorities is found in the oppressive colonial policy of thwarting the desires of the colonial peoples for a more abundant life. These peoples have been exploited for centuries by the Western World, but have now reached the point where they no longer desire to be the "white man's burden." With the help of the educated few who live among the ignorant masses of the colonial areas, the people have become aware of the fact that squalor and destitution was not destined for them, while, on the other hand, their western oppressors live in comparative luxury. This great awakening, as it were, has already taken place in Asia, and is now taking place among the 170,000,000 people of Africa. Thus the British, in collaboration with the United States, which plays the role of the "second fiddler" (as a matter of fact, she is underwriting the whole colonial system), are out to suppress anyone and everyone who opposes its colonial system of exploitation.

EDUCATED MAN DANGEROUS

One way for the British to achieve this end is to prevent the Africans from acquiring an education, for it is very easy to exploit an ignorant man, but an educated man is liable to put up some resistance. Kenya is a clear example where the British colonial authorities and its arm, the Kenya government, strive to keep the people living in ignorance. There were, for instance, 714 white children attending secondary schools in 1946, and only 326 African children attending secondary schools in the same year (there are, mind you, 30,000 whites in Kenya as compared with 5,500,000 blacks). Furthermore, it has been the expressed policy of the Kenya government to refuse permission to Africans to participate in American scholarships to study in the United States. In a January, 1949, issue of the Kenya *East Africa Standard,* an English paper, the editor writes as follows in reply to a letter inquiring about the above policy of the Kenya government:

> There is plenty of evidence to show that African undergraduates have fallen victims to influences which operate neither for their benefit as individuals nor for the ultimate advantage of the countries from which they come—the British government and the government of the East African territories have a clear and indivisible responsibility . . . to protect the individual African. . . .
>
> It matters much less whether a few Africans have to be deprived for some time of the opportunity these scholarships seem to them to present, than that some should be turned into the agents of forces abroad today with the express purpose of destroying democracy in general and the British Commonwealth and Empire in particular, and then return to spread evil doctrines and unrest among ignorant elements in the population. (Quoted in *The Chicago Defender*, November 22, 1952)

In this same article the editor stated that students should be "handpicked" before permitting them to travel abroad for an education.

IGNORANCE PERPETUATED

Thus we see the basis of an oppressive movement towards the perpetuation of ignorance among the East Africans on the pretext that an African educated abroad will return with certain "evil doctrines" for the purpose of overthrowing the so-called democracy that exists within the British colonial empire. This, it seems to me, is the real significance of the present attempt to deport Mugo-son-of-Gatheru. If the United States Immigration and Naturalization Authorities are successful in sending Mugo back to Kenya, the colonial authorities will have once more been successful in perpetuating ignorance among the East African people.

In the light of what has been said, I feel that it is the duty of each and everyone of us who believes in the dignity and social progress of man to protest the deportation proceeding that has been instituted against Mugo-son-of-Gatheru. Mugo has a strong desire to teach his people after he completes his American education, and sincerely hopes that he can educate them to the extent that they can alleviate the utterly despicable situation which confronts them. The organization which is handling Mugo's case, "The Friends of Gatheru," is very much in need of moral and financial support, and will be pleased to receive such support from those among us who believe that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

RESOLUTION PASSED

Thus far the Committee (i.e., "The Friends of Gatheru") has received support from several educational, civic, social and religious bodies. The Student Senate of Lincoln university, Pennsylvania, has passed a resolution in support of Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, saying in part:

> We the Student Senate of Lincoln university hereby express our wholehearted support for Mr. Mugo Gatheru in his efforts to remain in the United States of America in order to obtain an American education.
>
> Mr. Gatheru hopes some day to help educate his people so that they may be able to help in the democratic progress of mankind. . . . To this end, we feel that the deportation order . . . should be reconsidered and subsequently revoked.

A similar resolution has been passed by the Pennsylvania regional branch of the National Students Association (NSA), meeting at Bryn Mawr college, Pennsylvania, in November, 1952; and the Student Body of Swarthmore college, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, has also passed a resolution of this sort. Moreover, the Committee has received financial gifts from many friends, and also from several social, civic, and religious groups.

FABUNMI'S TROUBLES

The case of Larry A. Fabunmi, incidentally, is an example of what democratic protest can accomplish. In the spring of 1952, while attending Hope college in Michigan, Mr. Fabunmi, a Nigerian student, was ordered by the United States Immigration Authorities to leave the country not later than May 5, 1952—which was a few days before his graduation. Fortunately for Mr. Fabunmi the case was dropped, this being the result of a democratic protest on the part of his friends at Hope college. Mr. Fabunmi writes as follows concerning the nature of the charges against him (he was charged with 'pushing race equality too fast '):

> Well, this an age of speed. Americans walk fast, drive fast, fly fast and compete fast. When they encourage social and political justice and equity for the "colored" peoples, they quickly and conveniently appeal to the philosophy of gradualism. They, in this case, drop from the speed of lightning to that of a snail — a classical example of *consistent inconsistency!* [Italics authors]

In conclusion, I should say again that the real meaning of the deportation proceding against Mugo-son-of-Gatheru is that it is an attempt to perpetuate ignorance among the East Africans in order to perpetuate colonial rule over them. Since this is the case, I feel that those who believe, as I believe, that international and interracial justice and peace can someday be achieved on this earth should protest this attempt to perpetuate colonial rule through the deportation of Mugo-son-of-Gatheru.

* * *

DID YOU KNOW —

That the first American Negro to obtain a patent was Henry Blair of Glencross, Maryland?

Blair obtained a patent on his corn planter on October 14, 1834.

Layne

NEW NAACP LIFE MEMBER—*Dr. Leon W. Scott of New Rochelle (center) receives life membership certificate in the NAACP from Dr. Robert C. Weaver (left), Association board member, as executive secretary Walter White looks on. Dr. Scott's name will go on the bronze plaque in the national office listing* $500 *life members.*

* * *

by the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, and while it did not fulfill the most sacred aspirations of the Panamanian people, it recognized the rights of the two nations to the perpetual enjoyment of the benefits of all kinds which the Canal should afford. Consequently, it imposed the joint responsibility on the United States and the Republic of Panama for the defense of the Canal; a responsibility which Panama has always recognized and sought honorably to discharge. It elevated Panama to the level of a partner with the United States and, in the words of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, made these two nations joint trustees of civilization in the maintenance of the vital Panama Canal.

FRIENDS NEEDED

At a time of world crisis such as the present when the United States is threatened from within and from without, it ill-behooves this country to overlook any opportunity for making new friends or for cementing relations with old friends. A pertinent case in point is the relation of the United States with the Republic of Panama, particularly as this relation refers to conditions in the Panama Canal Zone.

If because of its strategic position for the defense of the United States and of the entire Hemisphere, Panama is in greater danger of attack and total destruction in a worldwide conflict, it is only fair that in peace time this disinterested contribution to the cause of security and defense be rewarded by a greater share in the economic aid program to countries of Latin America and by an improvement of conditions affecting Panamanians in the Canal Zone.

The United States of America which has distinguished itself for its respect for international treaties and obligations, and which has at all times sponsored the cause of freedom, of justice, and of human rights, must accept the challenge it faces in the existing conditions in the Canal Zone and must act immediately.

Despite the fact that Panama is looked upon by its sister republics as a sounding-board for United States policies toward Latin America, a fact of which the State Department is well aware, still some errors and blunders of North American diplomatic judgment have occurred on more than one occasion during the brief but turbulent period of their relations since 1903. The smallest of the Latin nations—Panama—because of its geographical location, gave birth to The Panama Canal, and the wholehearted friendship of its people is of utmost importance to the United States.

Panama has not been amiss in giving ample evidence of this friendship and her fullest cooperation with the United States. . . .

ISTHMUS SHOW WINDOW

Since Panama gained her freedom from Colombia in 1903 and became a loyal, though powerless partner in the Canal enterprise, Panamanians have constantly denounced the Colossus of the North which was to have made the Isthmus a show window of mutual cooperation, respect and friendship—a land of social and economic opportunity.

Why has a country like the United States which prides itself on its democratic institutions, its fairness of purpose, its vision and understanding, been subjected to such resentments among the people of Panama. Many are the answers, but probably the most plausible and obvious is found in the unreasonable dual standard of the organization which is responsible for the operation and maintenance of the Isthmian waterway; an organization that is an integral part of the United States government and the outpost signboard of U. S. foreign policy. This organization is known as *The Panama Canal.*

The Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy, hailed in Panama as a revolutionary trend in North American diplomacy, was designed to cushion many of the blows and hard knocks which for more than a generation have been dealt the pride, sensibility and prestige of the entire Latin America. Truly, the good neighbor idea as an instrument of forging inter-American friendship was first espoused by President Bartolomé Mitre of the Argentine almost a century ago. However, the administration of Roosevelt was dedicated to its adoption and the so-called Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy became one of the ties which securely bound the American family of nations for their common welfare.

RELATIONS REVOLUTIONIZED

Since the enunciation of this hemispheric accord in 1933 and its adoption at the Montevideo Conference in that same year, relations of the United States with the other twenty American Republics have been revolutionized. That Panama, a weak and defenseless state in the Western Hemisphere, did enjoy appreciable and tangible benefits from this policy is beyond question.

It must be recognized that through President Roosevelt's personal good will and the good neighbor policy of his administration, many grievances of the Panamanian people have been redressed. There have been policy-makers of exceptional high-mindedness and a small number of U. S. citizens on the Canal Zone who have also made scattered attempts to carry out the sentiments of good neighborliness.

Through these forces, coupled with the work of local political organizations and the splendid and persistent efforts of the CIO, Panamanians and other tropical workers have enjoyed, during recent years, considerable changes both on the humane and economic side in their employment status on the Canal Zone.

However, in time Panamanians learned that the good neighbor policy seemed to represent only the personal convictions of President Roosevelt, its co-sponsors—Sumner Wells and Cordell Hull—and other progressive elements. It has been forcibly brought into focus that the mentality and attitude of the average North American, especially on the Canal Zone, is alien to such a policy. The everyday actions of many authorities toward fellow-workers and the "better-than-thou" attitude of the North American residents toward their non-U. S. neighbors on the Canal Zone and across the boundary in Panama, betray the letter and spirit of inter-American friendship, minimizing its effect and generating rancor.

Is it any wonder then, that in the minds of the Panamanian people, North American occupation of Isthmian territory has come to symbolize discrimination, exploitation, and domination instead of friendship, progress, and democracy as it should rightly manifest? North American attitudes of racial superiority have not been taken kindly, as should be expected, by the descendants of the once proudest race in Europe—the Spaniards.

AMERICAN PARADISE

In analysis the Canal Zone becomes a paradise for the North Americans and the chosen few, while most Panamanians and the West Indian Negroes (the latter elements brought to the Isthmus by the United States Government by the thousands to give their blood and brawn to help build the Canal) are considered inferior in aptitude, ability and initiative to white American citizens, as well as ignorant, inefficient, and indolent in comparison to the average Caucasian worker.

These conflicts and discriminations have not permitted better relations and good will between Panama and the United States. This condition of "Yankee superiority" almost in the center of the Western Hemisphere, has led many a Latin American diplomat to look suspiciously at Washington's advocacy of democracy and equality the world over.

On this and other pertinent points, the Chicago *Tribune* published a series of eight articles last April and May, 1952. They were written by Jules DuBois, that paper's chief correspondent in Latin America, and a recent winner of the coveted Moor Cabot Award.

The past few years have brought a strong anti-U. S. movement among young Panamanians, especially those of the middle and lower classes, based on an intense and sometimes justified nationalism, which manifests itself with increasing strength in the politics of the country. Fortunately, this continent has been somewhat neutralized by the work of Ambassadors Monnet B. Davis and John Cooper Wiley, two 100-percent exponents of the good neighbor policy.

Time has undoubtedly corrected some of the more glaring inequities. It is no over-statement to assert that relations in general have improved tremendously from the common low of December, 1947. Then the 51-man National Assembly of Panama unanimously rejected the Defense Sites Agreement for the leasing to the United States of thirteen military bases and air fields covering a combined area of 31,687 acres for the defense of the strategically important Panama Canal. Rejection came after ten days of such tense agitation as the Panamanian people had never before reached on a national issue.

MUTUAL RESPECT

At the present point there are cordial relations and mutual respect on the part of both governments, as well as willingness to discuss vital problems in an atmosphere of friendliness and understanding. However, it is evident that the good neighbor policy cannot be properly implemented by adhering to practices such as these described below.

Among the 14,000 employees working for the Panama Canal Company — Canal Zone government on the local rate rolls as of September, 1952, are many butchers, cashiers, clerks, cooks, carpenters, chauffeurs, commissary managers, longshoremen, mechanics, painters, salesladies, seamen, stewards, supervisors, timekeepers, doing work which is identical to that performed by U. S. rate employees. On several occasions they have been called upon to substitute in a U. S.—rate position, or instruct some new U. S. apprentice in the fundamentals of a job. Yet the salaries they draw in no way uphold the "equal pay for equal work" concept of American labor. The average hourly wage of a U. S.—rate employee as of September 30, was $2.20; while that of a local-rater was $0.57.

Fully 45 percent of the workers in the local rate group are Panamanian citizens with families who should be kept on a minium level of health and decency. A sufficient and varied diet, properly balanced, is entirely impossible for these employees whose bodies eventually become disease-ridden from malnutrition and lowered vitality. A higher standard of living would give a lift to the socio-economic level of the national life. Actually, two-thirds of them reside in Panamanian territory. Their spending power has a tremendously wholesome effect on the commerce of the Republic of Panama. Their economic contribution, furthermore, is much more substantial than that of the U.S. — rate (Zonian) employees who live on the Canal Zone and make but brief excursions into the Republic for the purchase of those few items not available to them on the other side of Fourth of July Avenue.

LIVING COST HIGH

Over the past decade the cost of living index of local rate employees has spiralled upward to unbelievable heights, the same as it has in continental United States. However, the salary scale of these employes has not moved forward in any degree commensurate with the increased cost of living. This, naturally, imposes a sub-standard of living.

Without any essential modification of their basic wages due to present high cost of living, and although receiving 3 to 4 times less than their fellow-employees, the non-U. S. employees are required to pay in U. S. government - operated commissaries and stores the same prices paid by U. S. workers for foodstuffs and other commodities. At times these prices are in excess of those in markets of continental U. S.

Although opportunities for equality of employment and pay on the Canal Zone with U. S. citizens were first contemplated by an Executive Order of 1908, underscored by the 1936 Treaty, and re-emphasized with President Truman's Executive Order 9830 of May, 1947, enabling Panamanians to qualify for Civil Service positions on the Canal Zone, few natives of Panama have succeeded in getting beyond having their names placed on civil service registers. Of a total of 164 who have qualified in the past two years, only fifteen have received appointments up to now.

Panamanians are the victims of a selective system influenced largely by factors other than qualification and eligibility. The field of opportunities for employment in skilled and classified jobs is almost completely closed to the Panamanian worker. This un-American practice naturally removes incentive and stifles what initiative there might be on the part of non-U.S. employees to acquire mental and technical competency for skilled positions.

NO SOCIAL SECURITY

Public Law 318 of May 29, 1944 provides "for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in and about the construction of The Panama Canal," from May 4, 1904 to March 31, 1914. Meanwhile, the sacrificial labors of thousands of Panamanians, West Indian and tropical natives have gone unrequitted by the U. S. Congress in any manner as tangible as an annuitant payment would prove.

Panamanians and other non-U. S. citizens are maintained outside the limits of adequate and decent social security. Workers in this classification are not provided with retirement coverage. They are eligible for a grant under a cash relief system established in 1937 which yields from $1.00 a month for each year of service with a $10.00 minimum, and a maximum of $25.00. As a considerable number of non-Panamanians have permanent immigration or residential status in the Republic of Panama and will remain there after the termination of their employment, they become the ultimate responsibility of the Panamanian government with all the social ills attendant thereto.

Thousands of Panamanians are numbered among the workers on the local rate rolls of the Panama Canal Company-Canal Zone government whose earnings are geared to a wage structure which was established in 1903. Then non-U. S. citizens earned 10 cents an hour and U. S. citizens worked for 16 to 17 an hour. Nearly half a century later the disparity between these two categories continues to widen. Reason: the wages of U. S. citizens are based on rates for similar work in the United States, plus 25 percent and additional vacation and sick leave for tropical service. Non-U. S. workers have their pay based on the Caribbean wage-scale, an instrument that will never exemplify the spirit of decency, justice, equality of opportunity, and fair play inherent in the American fair employment practice code.

There are commissaries and post exchanges on the Canal Zone which sell goods to about 20,000 United States government employees. These commercial establishments are not subject to taxes and tariffs such as prevail in Panama, and therefore expose the Republic to what a Panamanian Ambasador to Washington once referred as a "unique and overwhelming type of competition that does not permit the development of Panama's commercial possibilities."

From its first year of existence, Panama has opposed all activities on the Canal Zone which could result in any form of competition or prejudice against the people or the commerce of the Republic. The virtue of my country's position in this respect was sustained by Secretary of War William Howard Taft on October 19, 1904, when he declared:

> ". . . We have not the slightest intention of establishing an independent colony in the middle of the State of Panama, or of exercising any greater government functions than are necessary to enable us conveniently and safely to construct, maintain and operate the canal under the rights given us by the treaty. Least of all do we desire to interfere with the business and prosperity of the people of Panama."

These old aspirations of the Panamanian people are still permitted to go unfulfilled by the commercial activities operated on the Canal Zone which deprive citizens of the Republic of the benefits which have been duly acknowledged as their just rights.

This trend has not contributed to the full and cordial development of the policy of friendship and cooperation which has been proclaimed at all times by the Government of the United States as a co-partner with the Republic of Panama, in perpetuity in the inter-oceanic canal. Neither does it adhere to Article II of the 1936 Treaty which established in its introductory paragraph that the United States agrees to the seven stipulations it contains "in order to enable the Republic of Panama to take advantage of the commercial opportunities inherent in its geographical situation."

An ominous consequence of this short-sighted attitude was the urgent appeal to the United States government signed on February 5, 1952, by thirty-five of the National Assembly's forty-two members "to review the policy of unjustifiable and unfair competition which is being carried out by the authorities of the Canal Zone to the detriment of our national economy and our commerce, in order that social uneasiness and economic misery may not turn Panama into fertile ground for the rooting and development of international Communism."

HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARITY

Because of the Panama Canal, Panama has had more intimate relations with the United States than any other Latin American nation, and it is in this respect that problems can arise and culminate in events that may have great and wide influence upon the relations of the United States with Latin America as a whole. Furthermore, the United States is not the only beneficiary of the Panama Canal. In a commercial way all trading nations of the world derive benefit from the inter-oceanic waterway. The political and social developments in the immediate Panama Canal area are therefore significant in the global picture of international relations.

The spiritual values which the North Americans advance unite them in kinship with the peoples of South America who have the same ideas of social justice and fair play. Peoples to the North and South in this hemisphere sorely need each other if together they are to throw up a bulwark that will defy penetration of totalitarianism. The inadequate living levels of Panamanian

(*Continued on page* 187)

■ **Biographical sketch of Ralph Ellison, National Book Award fiction winner**

Ralph Ellison— Fiction Winner*

RALPH ELLISON was born March 1, 1914, in Oklahoma City, where his parents had moved from South Carolina shortly after Oklahoma attained statehood. It was here that he received both his primary and secondary education at a school named in honor of the Negro abolitionist and statesman, Frederick Douglass.

Upon graduating from high school, Mr. Ellison won an Oklahoma state scholarship and attended Tuskegee Institute from 1933 to 1936, where he was made a music major. After leaving Tuskegee he came to New York City to concentrate on a study of music composition.

Although Mr. Ellison had read extensively in school and had experimented with word composition, he became seriously interested in writing when he read a poem by Richard Wright (author of *Native Son*) which reminded him in technique of parts of T. S. Eliot's *Wasteland*. Wright had published none of his books at the time, but his style so intrigued Ellison that the latter sought him out in New York in 1937. Wright, impressed with what he saw of Ellison's so far unpublished work, encouraged him to continue his writing, and for a brief period the two were associated in the publication of a short-lived magazine called *New Challenge*, where Ellison's first published work, a review, appeared. Ellison then went on to publish some short stories and essays and became associated with the New York Writer's Project.

Since 1939 short stories, reviews, criticism and articles by Ralph Ellison have appeared in such publications as *Horizon, The Reporter, Antioch Review, The Saturday Re-*

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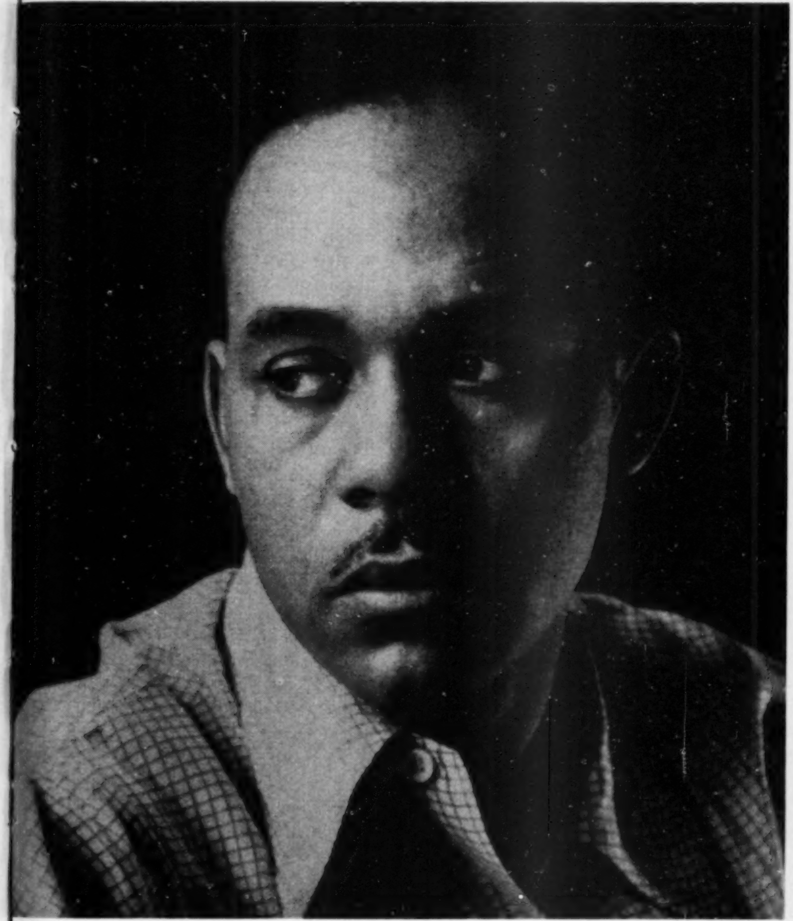
* The fourth annual National Book Awards were presented on January 27, 1953 (at the Hotel Commodore, New York City) to novelist Ralph Ellison for his first book "Invisible Man"; to historian Bernard De Voto for the third volume of his trilogy "The Course of Empire"; and to poet Archibald MacLeish for "Collected Poems, 1917-1952."



Gordon Parks

RALPH ELLISON

Winner 1952 National Book Award for his first novel, *Invisible Man* (Random House).

view of Literature, The New York Times Book Review and others.

In 1945 Mr. Ellison was granted a Rosenwald Fellowship for one year, with a six-month extension, to work on his first novel, *Invisible Man,* which Random House published in April of 1952. In 1947 one episode of the novel had appeared in a special American issue of the English magazine *Horizon* and later in the American magazine *'48*. The response to these pieces heralded the interest and acclaim which *Invisible Man* was later to arouse.

HIS WORK EXPERIENCES

Ralph Ellison's experience occupation-wise has given him rich and varied relations with people. Going on from his young schoolboy days as a newsboy, he became a dental laboratory apprentice, receptionist, clerk and professional photographer; held the first trumpet chair in jazz orchestras; and lectured on various aspects of American Negro culture, folklore, Joyce, Melville and the cinema at New York university and Bennington college. Any spare time he has at present is devoted to freelance photography. His principal hobby is experimental audio-electronics.

Although Mr. Ellison has begun work on a new novel, he is still receiving critical acclaim on *Invisible Man,* which was hailed as a major literary event from the day of its publication. *Time* magazine's literary survey of 1952 called it "one of the year's standouts . . . by the most interestng new U. S. novelist." At the time of its publication *Time* said:

"A remarkable novel that gives Ralph Ellison a claim to being the best of U. S. Negro writers. It makes him, for that matter, an unusual writer by any standards. His story of one Negro's effort to find his place in the world takes on the near-heroic quality of a modern tragic Odyssey."

Other reviewers were equally enthusiastic, as indicated by the quotes that follow:

"A work of art. You are carried forward by an intensity rare in the fiction of any time or place. In the course of his journey towards understanding, the protagonist meets nearly every significant variety of modern man."
—from *The Saturday Review*.

"Tough, brutal, sensational . . . it blazes with authentic talent. It is the most impressive work of fiction by an American Negro which I have ever read." — Orville Prescott. *The New York Times*.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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■ **Some of the ideas and motives which went into "Invisible Man"**

Light on "Invisible Man"*

By Ralph Ellison

BEING an aborted musician who approached fiction on the rebound, I found that after the apprenticeship of imitation and seeking with delight to examine my experience through the discipline of the novel, I became gradually aware that the forms of so many of the works which impressed me were too restricted to lay boundaries to the experience which I knew. The diversity of American life with its extreme fluidity and openness seemed too vital and alive to be caught for more than the briefest instant in the tight well-made Jamesian novel, which was, for all its artistic perfection, too concerned with "good taste" and stable areas. Nor could I safely use the forms of the "hardboiled" novel, with its dedication to physical violence, social cynicism, and understatement. Understatement depends, after all, upon commonly held assumptions and my minority status rendered all such assumptions questionable.

There was also a problem of language, and even dialogue, which, with its hard-boiled stance and its mono-syllabic utterances, is one of the shining achievements of 20th century American writing. For despite the convention that it was restricting itself to the rhythms of everyday speech I found that, when compared with the rich babble of idiomatic expression around me, a language full of imagery and gesture and rhetorical canniness, it was embarrassingly austere. When I examined my own speech I found it resounding with an alive language swirling with over three hundred years of American living, a mixture of the folk, the biblical, the scientific and the political. Slangy in one instance, academic in another, loaded poetically with imagery at one moment, mathematically bare of imagery in the next.

When I examined the rather rigid concepts of reality which informed a number of the works which impressed me and to which I owe a great deal, I was forced to conclude that for me and for so many hundreds of thousands of Americans, reality was simply far more mysterious and uncertain, and at the same time more exciting, and still, despite its raw violence and capriciousness, more promising. To attempt to force that sense of the American experience which has carried one back and forth and up and down the land, and across and across again the great river, from freight train to Pullman car, from two generations away from slavery to contact with a world of advanced scholarship, art and science, is simply to burst such neatly understated, dead-certain, and to an extent now defeated forms of the novel, asunder.

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* Extracts from Mr. Ellison's acceptance speech after being given the fourth National Book Award for fiction.

The need for another approach was unmistakable, a novel whose range was both broader and deeper. And in my search I found myself turning to the 19th century, the period of our classical novelists. Perhaps because I felt that, except for the work of William Faulkner, something vital had gone out of American prose after Mark Twain. I came to believe that the writers of that period took a much greater responsibility for the condition of democracy, that they still possessed the frontiersman's awareness that the country, while great with promise, was still unknown and mysterious, and I came to believe as well that they truly believed in democracy and that, indeed, their works were imaginative projections of the conflicts within the human heart which arose when the sacred principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights clashed with the practical exigencies of human greed and fear, hate and love.

Naturally, to set the sociological motive out in the open, I was attracted to these writers as a Negro. For whatever they thought of my people, in their imaginative economy the Negro symbolized both the man lowest down and the mysterious, underground aspect of human personality. In a sense, the Negro was the gauge of the human condition as it waxed and waned in our democracy. These writers were willing to confront the broad complexities of American life, and we are the richer for their having done so.

Thus to see America with an awareness of its rich diversity and its almost magical fluidity and freedom, I was forced to conceive of a novel unburdened by the narrow naturalism which has led after so many triumphs to the final and unrelieved despair which marks so much of our current fiction. I was to dream of a prose which was flexible, and swift as American change is swift, confronting the inequalities and brutalities of our society forthrightly, but yet thrusting forth its images of hope, human fraternity and individual self-realization. A prose which would make use of the richness of our speech, the idiomatic expression and the rhetorical flourishes from past periods which are still alive among us. Despite my personal failures there must be possible a fiction which, leaving sociology and case histories to the scientists, can arrive at the truth about the human condition, here and now, with all the bright magic of the fairy tale.

* * *

YOUTH DELIBERATES *at North Carolina state conference of youth councils and college chapters, Bennett college, Greensboro, February 6-7.* BOTTOM: *Matthew Henson, 86-year old arctic explorer and co-discoverer of North Pole with Peary in 1909, watches as his sculptured head is presented by Averell Harriman (second from right) to Edward Meyer, president of the Explorers Club, on behalf of NAACP. Head was sculptured by John LaFarge.*

Looking and Listening . . .

OREGON CIVIL RIGHTS

PROGRESS, the bi-monthly report of The Urban League of Portland, Oregon, reports in its February 1953 issue on the Oregon civil rights campaign:

Steps to gain passage of a state law to prevent discrimination in places of public accommodation were under way in January as the 1953 assembly of the Oregon legislature got under way in Salem.

A citizens committee, made up of representatives of a number of prominent organizations, met early in January and appointed a subcommittee of attorneys to draft a bill for presentation to the legislature. The lawyers named were Shirley Field, Ken Kraemer, Sid Lezak, U. G. Plummer, David Robinson and Don Willner, with George Dysart as chairman.

The new organization, calling itself the *Oregon Committee for Equal Rights,* and headed by E. J. ("Bill") Ireland, Molalla businessman and former state representative, began laying groundwork for statewide support of the measure. The cooperation of influential citizens throughout Oregon was promised.

The proposed bill, like the one enacted by the Portland city council in 1950 and later defeated by referendum, would give persons of all races equal access to restaurants, hotels, amusement parks and other public places.

Prospects that Oregon will join the other 18 states which now guarantee these rights to their citizens appeared to depend upon the number of fair-minded persons in our state who make their wishes known early and clearly to their representatives in the assembly. Prompt action was called for, as it was hoped to gain early consideration of the matter at Salem.

LIPMAN WOLFE

THE same issue of *Progress* tells how the Lipman Wolfe and Company store in Portland has set a new pace in the hiring of nonwhite clerical help:

During the Christmas shopping season, the popular downtown department store's open hiring policy resulted in an increase of its nonwhite clerical help to more than 20 persons.

Besides the regular clerical force, which has become increasingly integrated in recent months, the extra hiring brought notable additions of Negro and Oriental personnel as sales clerks, gift wrappers, stock clerks, checker and office clerical workers.

Lipman has also broken the tradition among large department stores in the hiring of elevator operators, employing both white and nonwhite girls. (One large store hires only white elevator girls; another hires only Negro.) Other custodial jobs are also filled without regard to race, resulting in an interracial force throughout the store. . . .

DROPS JIM-CROW POLICY

IN St. Louis, Missouri, the American Theatre has dropped its jim-crow policy of admitting Negroes only to the second balcony. Whenever a show with an all-Negro cast played the house, policy was to reserve a few seats in other sections for Negroes. This sort of piffling relaxation of jim-crow policies in segregated theatres used to be quite common and was supposed to forestall Negro protest. However, seats are now available to Negroes in all sections of the house.

The St. Louis branch of the NAACP had kept a picket line around the American Theatre beginning with September of 1946. Henry Winfield Wheeler, who led these picket lines, says that during this period there were 1,475 persons who assisted in the picketing. He himself picketed alone 2,553 times. Paul Beisman, manager of the American Theatre, has been congratulated for his new policy.

CONNECTICUT CIVIL RIGHTS

THE Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights, as required by law, has submitted recommendations for changes in legislation which seem necessary in order to eliminate discrimination in Connecticut. The three basic changes suggested are as follows:

1. *Fair Employment Practices:* The Commission recommends that Section 7406 of the Fair Employment Practices Act be amended to give the hearing tribunal, if it finds the respondent has engaged in unfair employment practices, affirmative powers in line with the powers granted to hearing boards in labor relations cases under the provision of the Connecticut Labor Relations Act (Section 7394).

2. *Public Accommodations*: The Public Accommodations Statute (Section 691-A-692-A, 1949 Supplement) should also be amended. a. The Commission recommends that the wording of this act state that it applies to all places which depend upon the patronage of the general public for support. b. The Commission recommends that this act be amended to include a clause specifically defining segregation as discrimination. c. The Commission recommends that the Public Accommodations Act also be amended to include convalescent homes and homes for the aged. d. The Commission recommends that the Public Accommodations Act be amended to include all types of state subsidized housing. e. The Commission recommends that it be given the power to initiate complaints under the Publc Accommodations Act as it already has under the Fair Employment Practices Act.

These recommendations are designed to close up loopholes in the present law.

REAL ESTATE VALUES

REAL estate values do not necessarily tumble when nonwhite families move into a previously all-white neighborhood, according to a survey by the University of California. Figures revealed in *Collier's* magazine for February 6, 1953, show that in a typical San Francisco area called Silver Terrace the average price of homes in 1950 was $9,750. Since that time, there have been 21 sales of homes to whites and six to Negroes, and the average price is $10,750.

This illustrates the remarkable progress San Francisco has made in a scant six years in an effort to remove the conditions that prevent equal treatment for minority groups.

All over San Francisco there is a growing conviction that discrimination exacts as heavy a tax on the prejudiced majority as it does on the victimized minorities.

At the end of World War II, San Francisco found itself with the largest Chinese and Japanese settlements of any city outside the Orient, and the third largest Mexican and Filipino populations on the West Coast. The city also had experienced a greater short term rise in Negro population than any other city in the United States—from less than 5,000 to more than 50,000 in six years. Altogether, almost 125,000 members of racial minority groups had chosen to live in this city of 750,000. In a city with a past history of discrimination such as San Francisco's, it was an explosive situation.

Civic leaders, industrialists, merchants, utility heads, public officials and school teachers rolled up their sleeves and went to work. As one civic leader summed up, "Through hard work and patience, San Francisco is helping to prove that discrimination is bad business, and equality is profitable."

TOGO TURMOIL

TOGO, a former German colony, was divided after World War I between France and Great Britain as a League mandate, with France getting about two-thirds of the territory. Though placed under UN trusteeship in 1946, Togo is still administered by a commissioner responsible to the French government. Actually her present representation in the French National Assembly is just a gesture toward self-government. What the Togolese want is "Ablode" or "Freedom." They have organized Juvento (with its official organ *Negreta*), the Committee for Togolese Unity, and the Party for Togolese Progress in their fight for home rule; but the French have refused even to discuss their legitimate aspirations and have instead retaliated with their usual curt disregard for colonial realities.

Herewith are excerpts from a letter addressed by Ben Apaloo, president of Juvento, to the Governor of Overseas France and the Commissioner of the Republic of Togo at Lomé, capital of Togo. The letter is dated January 20, 1953, and was mailed from the Gold Coast—not Togo. Copies of two decree laws expressly designed to prevent native demonstrations on behalf of Sylvanus Olympio, Togo delegate to UN, were also attached. Here are significant passages from this letter:

> December 25, 1952: A certain Mr. Thomas Adjetey, master watchmaker, and several young people were clubbed by the police for shouting 'Freedom.'
>
> January 1, 1953: After the local administration had been properly and duly informed of a plan to receive Mr. Sylvanus Olympio upon his return from UN, it hurriedly issued a decree forbidding any public gathering of two or three persons in order to prevent the reception.
>
> January 14, 1953: The Togoless Youth Movement (a legally authorized association) was denied the right to hold a membership meeting in the home of its president upon order of police commissioner Pauc, who ordered police to be present at the meeting. When the members did not obey, the commissioner threw a police cordon about the meeting place and at the entrance to

prevent members from attending. Only those present before this incident attended. Next day both the president and the secretary were summoned to police headquarters for depositions.

January 15, 1953 (About 11:00 A.M.): Arrest of *Negreta's* co-editor Joseph Kinakey, successor to editor Mensah Aihtson who has been under arrest without a legal hearing since August 1952.

January 17, 1953 (3:30 P.M.): After a crowd of about 10,000 people had gathered near the home of Mr. Augustino de Souza, president-general of the Committee for Togolese Unity, to hear Mr. Sylvanus Olympio's report, commissioner of police Pauc came up and notified CTU leaders of a decree banning use of the 'mike' — he then added that if they didn't disperse he would call the police.

January 17, 1953 (6:45 P.M.): Madame Wilson Confort, municipal councillor of Lomé, was savagely beaten, without reason or provocation and under the cover of darkness, by ten policemen as she left the meeting.

Throughout the Territory: Official theft by the police of Juvento badges from the chests of Togolese; confiscation of ties from the neck of militant young nationalists wearing the 'National Togolese emblem' followed by clubbings, whippings, and slaps; wholesale denial of jobs at instigation of the local administration, based in many instances upon fanciful police reports; and the widespread removal from office of the traditional nationalist chiefs and their replacement, in a non-democratic manner, by progressive chiefs. . . .

AFRICAN vs. ANTILLEAN

COMMENT should be made upon the French practice of aggravating the differences between French West Indians, many of whom are employed in the colonial service, and native Africans. Sylvère Alcandre, himself a Guadeloupian, explains how it is done in his *L'Emancipation des Peuples Colonisés* (Emancipation of Colonial Peoples.)

The French teach French West Indians that Antilleans are superior to Negro Africans. The Antilleans, they say, are *Blacks;* but the Africans are *Negroes.* That is because, ever since the successful Haitian Revolution, *Noir* has been a much nobler word than *Nègre.* In other words, the suggestion is that French West Indians are "civilized," but that Africans on the other hand are "savages." They contrast the much larger Antillean professional group with the comparative lack of such a group among Negro Africans. These concepts, says Alcandre, are sedulously cultivated by the French in the schools; and when a French West Indian graduates and looks around for work he always gets preference —at a subordinate job of some sort as colonial administrator, government clerk, or army officer. This swells their egos and if they are sent to Africa they strut their conceit and become very effective co-exploiters of their fellow Negroes.

However, the French dub "traitors" and "ingrates" the few French West Indians who repudiate these imbecilities.

How do Africans react to these superiority pretences? They nurse their bruised egos with rationalizations. Antilleans cannot be their superiors, they say, because they are a degenerate and mixed group descended from former slaves. Then the African goes on to add insult to

(*Continued on page* 188)

Editorials

POLICE BRUTALITY

POLICE brutality is, of course, an old story. It flourishes wherever there are police and conniving superiors. Moreover, it is usually almost impossible to get justice in these cases because the beatings generally take place in a station house and the only witnesses are the "cops." Naturally the police clam up at investigations of their own practices, and should public clamor force one it is conducted by the police department and results in a whitewash. Furthermore, victims of police brutality are likely to be members of minority groups like Negroes and, in New York City, Puerto Ricans. They usually have no money and no influential friends.

Actually a victim of police brutality has only one recourse. That is to make a complaint under Section 242, Title 18, of the Federal Code which makes it a crime for a law enforcement officer to deprive a person of his civil rights. Normally, if a complaint is made against a policeman, it is investigated by the FBI and then, if the facts warrant it, the Justice Department may prosecute. In case of conviction, the penalty is very mild—a year in prison and a $1,000 fine.

WHAT has given a peculiar twist to police brutality in New York City is the discovery that there had been a secret agreement between the police and the federal government for the FBI to keep hands off New York police in reported cases of violations of civil rights. Thus the victim's only recourse to justice was shut off.

On February 16 the New York *World-Telegram and Sun* broke a story about the secret agreement between New York City Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan and former Deputy Attorney General James McInerney that New York City police were exempted from FBI investigation of any charges involving police brutality in violation of civil rights. Mr. Monaghan insists that he made no such agreement with the Justice Department; while Mr. McInerney is equally emphatic that he did. Yet memoranda in the files of the Justice Department support Mr. McInerney's contention.

HOWEVER, Mr. Monaghan's denials of police brutality will not stand scrutiny. The city has already paid out some $200,00 in damages in civil suits brought against the police. On the very day he was issuing his denial a local tabloid was featuring a victim of police attack on its front page. Although a federal grand jury voted "no true bill" in charges of brutality against the police who beat Jacob Jackson, the facts are indisputable that Jackson was beaten.

Last August 9, 1952, the police had just broken up a sidewalk dice game when Jackson happened along. The cops told him to keep moving, but it seems he didn't move fast enough for them and so they kicked him. When he protested, they arrested him. A passer-by, Samuel Crawford, remonstrated with the police. He was arrested too. The men were taken to the 54th Street police station, handcuffed, and then beaten. For a while no charges were preferred against them. However, they were later charged with "felonious assault," which was subsequently changed to "disorderly conduct." A county grand jury and the police department investigated and exonerated the police.

Central facts in the Jackson case are beyond dispute. He was taken to the 54th Street police station a sound, healthy man; he left in an ambulance. At the hospital he was found to have suffered a cerebral hemorrhage, and had to submit to two operations to remove blood clots from the brain.

The NAACP has already taken effective action to prevent any future secret agreements between the police and the Justice Department to suspend federal intervention in cases involving abuse of civil rights by police officers. The association sponsored on February 19 a meeting of seventeen civic, labor, church, and minority group organizations to consider plans for protest and action against the now repudiated agreement between the New York City Police Department and the U. S. Department of Justice.

PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY

T*HE CRISIS* commends the Very Rev. James A. Pike, dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, for his forthright stand on segregation at the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

The incident to which Rev. Pike was referring happened last June when the trustees of the University of the South refused to admit Negro students to the theological seminary. In protest against this action eight of the university professors resigned, effective as of June 1953.

Rev. Pike had been invited to deliver the baccalaureate sermon at the University of the South next June, but when he found that the university had not changed its policy on segregation he promptly declined. He was also to have received a doctorate degree.

Rev. Pike wrote that he could "not in conscience receive a doctorate in the white divinity which Sewanee apparently is prepared to offer the church hereafter; nor could I enroll as a loyal alumnus of the university."

Good News

French Ministry of Fine Arts sponsorship of concert singer Hermann Gantt's tour of France. His first appearance will be at the famous Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris. Mr. Gantt is a two-time winner of the Marian Anderson Award, 1951-1952.

★ ★ ★

Ralph Green, athletic director of the Artic Avenue YMCA, Atlantic City, New Jersey, was named in January by the local Junior Chamber of Commerce as the young man of the year. Mr. Green is the first Negro to receive the honor in Atlantic City.

★ ★ ★

G. Edward Edmonson, a dining car steward on the Boston and Albany Railroad, is the first Negro to be admitted to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The Brotherhood, an organization of more than 225,000 railroad workers, has always traditionally and by regulation barred Negroes.

★ ★ ★

Alida C. Dailey, first Negro woman ever to head a staff of nurses at a New York City hospital, has received the Knickerbocker Award of Merit for outstanding service in her profession.

★ ★ ★

Soprano Dorothy Maynor as the first Negro ever to sing at a presidential inauguration. Miss Maynor sang at President Eisenhower's inaugural ceremonies on January 20.

★ ★ ★

Of the three recipients of the 1953 National Book Award gold medals one was Ralph Ellison for his first novel, *Invisible Man*. The presentation ceremony was held at the Commodore Hotel and marked the fourth annual distribution of awards for fiction, non-fiction, and poetry under the joint auspices of the American Book Publishers Council, Inc., the American Booksellers Association, Inc., and the Book Manufacturers Association, Inc.

On February 8 Mr. Ellison was a featured guest on CBS Radio's "Your Invitation to Learning." His novel, *Invisible Man*, was also listed by the American Library Association as one of the notable 53 titles of 1952.

★ ★ ★

Lenora Lafayette of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, sang the role of Aïda at Covent Garden, London, England, after soprano Gré Brouwenstijn came down with a case of laryngitis. Miss Lafayette received an enthusiastic welcome.

★ ★ ★

In January George Henry Redding was sworn in by Police Commissioner George Monaghan as the first Negro police captain in New York City. Captain Redding has been on the New York police force for 26 years.

★ ★ ★

First Negro ever to head the Detroit, Michigan, presbytery in its 123-year history is Rev. William H. Molbon, pastor of St. John's church. He was elected moderator for 1953 by Detroit Presbyterians.

★ ★ ★

Jackie Robinson, director of community activities in charge, stations WNBC and WNBT of NBC radio and TV networks, will direct the newly established foundation to provide record players and recorded music for charitable organizations in New York City and its environs.

* * *

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

It would be too bad if Christ
Were to come back black.
There are so many churches
Where He could not pray
In the U. S. A.,
Where entrance to Negroes,
No matter how sanctified,
Is denied,
Where race,
Not religion,
Is glorified.

But, talk about it—
You may be
Crucified.

LANGSTON HUGHES

AFRICA

Sleepy giant,
You've been resting awhile.

Now I see the thunder
And the lightning
In your smile.
Now I see
The storm clouds
In your waking eyes:
The thunder,
The wonder,
And the young
Surprise.

Your every step reveals
The new stride
In your thighs.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

LEGAL

Ingram Appeal: North Carolina offered a weak argument in support of the six-month suspended sentence imposed on Mack Ingram, the share cropper convicted of "assault by leering" at a white farm girl, in answer to the appeal taken to the Supreme Court by NAACP attorneys.

The appeal to the North Carolina State Supreme Court to have Ingram's conviction set aside came up for argument on February 3. The state attorney general's office admitted, when questioned by the court, that it had no constructive evidence that the convicted man had committed a crime.

Ingram was convicted in November of 1952 and given six months for "assault by leering" at the young woman from a distance of 75 feet. The 6-month's sentence was suspended, but he was put on a 5-year probation and was ordered to report to the court every November and produce three character witnesses to "substantiate his good behavior."

Immediately following the conviction, NAACP attorneys filed an appeal with the State Supreme Court on the grounds that the conviction violated both the state and federal constitutions. The systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury and the vagueness of the statute under which Mack Ingram was convicted were also attacked.

On January 28 the state attorney general's office filed a joint brief with the NAACP asking that the State Supreme Court scrutinize the case. While it did not question the evidence or the verdict, the brief did admit that Ingram was denied his constitutional right in that Negroes were excluded from the jury and that the jury list had been selected from the registration books of qualified voters, which was in violation of the North Carolina law. The only qualifications for jury service in the state's requirements are the payment of taxes, good character and sufficient intelligence.

In his argument before the high court, the prosecuting attorney did not argue too strongly against any of the points raised by the NAACP lawyers. He did say he thought there might be sufficient evidence for the court to examine.

However, he told the court the decision was left entirely up to the state's high judiciary.

Should the court hand down a decision on the conviction, it is felt that the lower court's decision will be reversed and the case thrown out. [As we go to press, we learn that the North Carolina Supreme Court unanimously reversed the "assault by leer" conviction of Ingram on the ground that he could not be convicted "for what may have been in his mind" when he looked at the girl.]

Georgia Regents: Horace Ward's two-year fight to gain admission to the law school of the University of Georgia is back in the United States District Court in Atlanta, Georgia, following another rejection of his application by the university board of regents.

When the case was called before Judge Frank A. Hooper in the Atlanta federal court last December 15, the judge gave the university 30 days in which to decide whether or not Mr. Ward would be admitted to the law school under rules existing in September 1951 when he first applied. In the meanwhile, the university passed a rule requiring admission by examination.

The board's decision, returned on January 14, cited the fact that the applicant had not submitted to the examination now required. Through his attorneys, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney, Mr. Ward contends that nothing can be required of him that was not required of other applicants at the time he applied. His first application was turned down solely on the basis of his race. This will be the main issue when the trial gets under way.

Poll Tax Evasion: A statement adopted by the NAACP board at its regular February 9 meeting asserts that if thirteen states should neglect to act on ratification of a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax during the time limit set, it would be defeated. This proposed amendment has been denounced as a "delaying tactic" proposed by a group of southern senators. Full text of the NAACP statement is as follows:

The proposal of a group of southern senators to abolish the poll tax as a requirement in federal elections by a constitutional amendment is primarily a delaying tactic. To resort to this method of electoral reform is merely to postpone long overdue action against this tax barrier to the free franchise. If the proponents of the constitutional amendment were completely committed to the abolition of the poll tax they would abandon the filibuster and join other senators in enacting a federal statute banning this obsolete tax.

Efforts to pass such a law have been repeatedly defeated in the Senate by filibusters. Even though some of the senators who have participated in such filibusters are now sponsoring the amendment, they give no assurance that other southern senators will not band together to kill the motion to take up the proposed amendment by talking it to death. Ratification of the amendment by the respective state legislatures presents further hazards. Should thirteen states simply refuse to act upon the amendment within the time limit set, it would be defeated and the opportunity of securing congressional enactment of such a measure hopelessly impaired.

For these reasons, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has consistently worked for the abolition of the poll

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tax by congressional action, views the proposed constitutional amendment as an attempt to evade the issue and again calls for early enactment of a statute banning this tax.

MISCELLANEOUS

Life Members: Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, a member of the NAACP board of directors, has taken out a $500 life membership in the Association. Attorney Dickerson has been a member of the NAACP board since January 1941 and was re-elected to his fifth consecutive three-year term on January 5, 1953.

Two new life members have been recently added through the Philadelphia branch.

The new $500 life members are Reverend James E. Kirkland of the Union Baptist church, Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia chapter of The Links, Inc. This is the second chapter of The Links to have its name listed on the bronze plaque of NAACP life members since the organization adopted a resolution at its national convention directing all member groups to take out life memberships. The Los Angeles chapter was the first to carry out the resolution.

Segregation Banned: Segregation in non-commissioned officers clubs, swimming pools, and barracks at the Turner Air Force base in Albany, Georgia, has been banned, the Air Force has advised the NAACP Washington bureau.

This action, which became effective on January 1, followed a detailed complaint made to the Air Force Inspector General by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau, on behalf of servicemen who had been sent to the base following duty overseas. Mr. Mitchell reported that the airmen were amazed to return to the States and find themselves barred from one of the pools, "encouraged" to go to a segregated club, and shunted to separate barracks. They also found that bus service between the base and Albany was segregated.

Additional NAACP action will be taken on the bus segregation and on charges that colored airmen have not been able to obtain housing in an FHA development near the base known as Turner City.

According to the Air Force some segregation still exists in base barbershops because concessionaires refuse to serve colored patrons. The Association is challenging the right of the concessionaires to operate on the base if they do not serve all personnel.

←

LOVELY *Lena Horne who co-chairmans, with Oscar Hammerstein II, the second annual NAACP Madison Square Garden benefit in New York City on March* 23.

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: First annual regional leadership conference of the SOUTHEASTERN REGION was held in Birmingham February 20-22. Theme of the conference was no compromise with segregation or discrimination.

According to regional secretary Mrs. Ruby Hurley, the board of bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church has taken favorable action on the request of the southeastern regional office to strengthen cooperation between the NAACP and the church

Arkansas: The FORT SMITH branch has issued a very interesting branch history in mimeograph form setting forth the highlights in its activities.

Calfornia: Representatives of more than 50 statewide civic, fraternal, religious, labor and national groups met on January 31 at call of the WEST COAST regional office to plan for support of a strong fair employment bill in the California legislature. The advisory committee of the West Coast region had passed unanimously on the previous day a resolution requiring that NAACP units campaign only for FEPC "containing specific provisions for the enforcement of its principles."

On March 8 there was an area-wide meeting keyed to job opportunities held at the Oakland Arena. Reports were presented from all northern California NAACP branches on job opportunities for minorities in their areas.

Delaware: Officers of the NEWARK branch were installed on January 31. They are Sylvester Woolford, president; Mrs. John Chambers, vice-president; Mrs. Alex Coates, treasurer; Mrs. Arthur Johnson, recording secretary; and Mrs. Earl Saunders, corresponding secretary.

Georgia: The Emancipation Day celebration sponsored by the ATLANTA branch in January was a huge success, with a collection of $2,122.25 for the branch and an additional pledge of $1,000 from the AME churches through Bishop S. L. Greene. Rev. William Holmes Borders was the main speaker in the ceremonies held at the Wheat Street Baptist church.

Minnesota: New officers of the executive board of the MINNEAPOLIS branch are William Cratic, president (fourth term); Howard Bennett, vice-president; Mrs. Mary Jo Howell, secretary; Mrs. Jeanne Leland, assistant secretary; John Hutcherson, treasurer.

On February 15 the branch held an interesting and informative program on the forthcoming fight in the Minnesota state legislature for the employment on merit bill. Guest speaker was Mrs. John Gruner, former volunteer secretary of the Joint Committee on Employment Opportunity.

New Jersey: The PLAINFIELD branch appointed committee chairmen at its last meeting in the Bethel Presbyterian church. For labor and industry, Richard Knight; press and publicity, Doris Avery; housing, Mrs. Mamie Sutton; and legislation, Dr. Carrie Hobson.

Branch director Gloster Current spoke to the group and interpreted the branch constitution. Mrs. Esther Dillard and Mrs. Mamie Sutton reported on the recent national committee cocktail party held at the Hotel McAlpin in preparation for NAACP Great Night at Madison Square Garden on March 23. Mrs. Eva Fields reported on the 1953 membership drive, which ended February 15.

New England: Branch reports from the New England area include the following: Bridgeport reports a membership of over 500, and a conference with the local housing authority and the regional authority in Boston on the critical housing situation; Greenwich presented the Rev. James H. Robinson at an interracial and inter-religious meeting, and also heard reports on new job openings for Negro policemen and qualified Negro school teachers; Middletown is fighting discrimination in public housing projects; the New Britain branch presented Eric Lowenstein in a TV-skit titled "Behind the Iron Curtain U. S. A.," based on the Harry Moore case; Stamford reports a mass meeting in the interest of James Higgs, arrested for attempted rape upon a white woman; Waterbury observed Emancipation Day with a mass meeting; Worcester plans to sell $500 worth of NAACP Christmas seals next year; and Providence reports the re-organization of its youth council.

North Carolina: Members of the **WEST ASHEVILLE** branch discussed (at January meeting) fair employment practices bills introduced into the U. S. Senate. Copies of the bills were distributed to members.

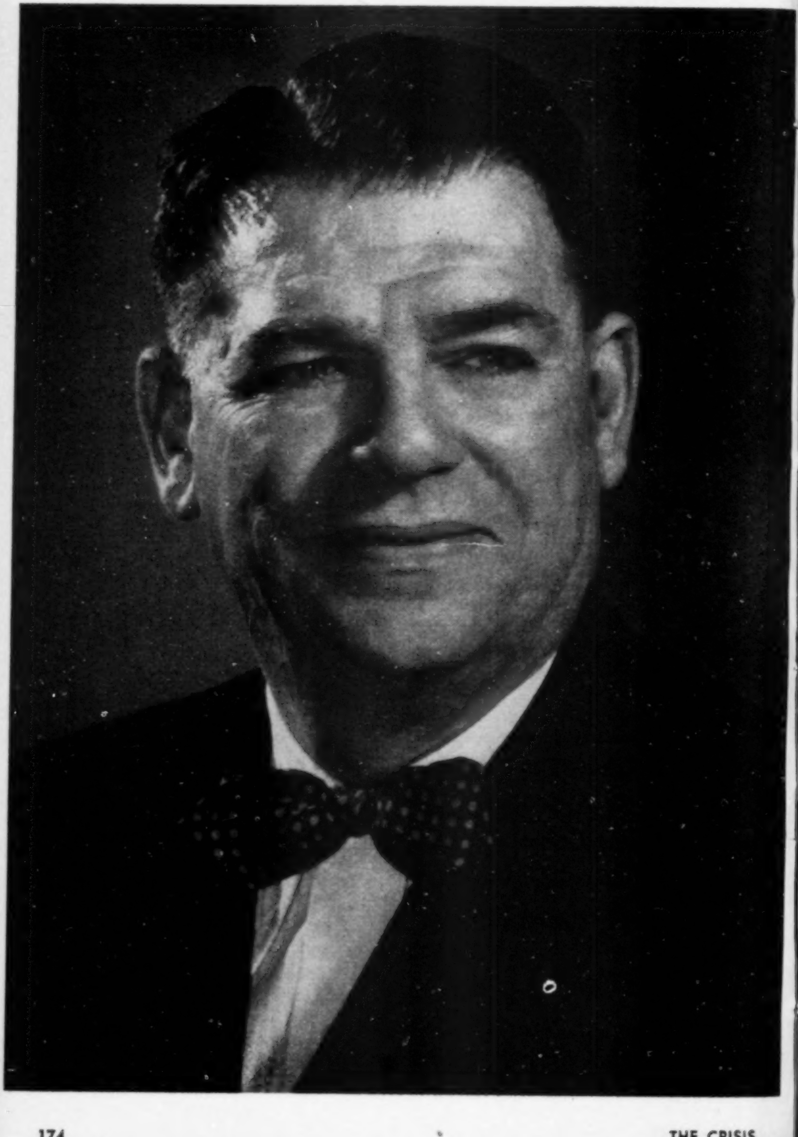
The branch is working hard to increase membership and encourage attendance at all meetings.

REV. J. E. JONES, *president of Bowling Green, Ky., NAACP branch congratulates Osceola Dawson, secretary state conference, for outstanding service. She was given a pen and pencil set.*

Oklahoma: The **OKLAHOMA CONFERENCE** of branches has been swamped with protests against a jimcrow state park proposed by the Oklahoma state planning and resources board.

Letters of protest have also been sent directly to the state planning and resources board. Taxpayers, both white and Negro, are directing complaints against the board for the useless squandering of tax funds and the inclination of the board to endorse second class citizenship for Negroes.

The chairman of the board proffered the explanation, in defense of the segregated park, that the eastern capitalists would not purchase Oklahoma's self-liquidating bonds for parks if they knew segregation had been eliminated in such parks. The branch spokesman,



Editor Roscoe Dunjee of the *Black Dispatch,* a weekly Oklahoma newspaper, told the board that it should turn down the entire bond issue if it had any such string attached because neither the state government nor any of its bureaus should accept money limited to the advantage and recreational profits of white people.

The chairman of the board told the branch committee: "I don't expect to see in my life time Negroes and whites walking up to a public place and registering together." He was reminded by Editor Dunjee that Negroes and whites enroll, attend classes, eat at the same cafeterias, and sleep in the same dormitories at the University of Oklahoma and at Oklahoma A. & M. College, with no signs of violence having been evidenced to date.

The board chairman further defended the board's position on the grounds that many sound thinking Negroes had indicated to the board that they don't recognize the NAACP as voicing the opinion of the majority of the Negroes; that to the contrary, the majority of Negroes prefer a segregated park. He failed to identify the Negroes.

The Oklahoma City branch and the Oklahoma state conference of branches are encouraging Negroes as individuals and as organized groups to openly declare their position as accepting the NAACP as representing the opinion of the majority of the race.

Pennsylvania: The PHILADELPHIA chapter of Links, Inc, is the first of its northeastern groups to take out a life membership in the NAACP.

Mrs. Frederick Hawkins, secretary of the local chapter and a co-founder, presented the $500 check representing a life membership fee to Dr. Harry J. Greene, branch president, in January.

A $200 contribution was recently made to the Philadelphia branch by Chief Magistrate James Clothier during the testimonial dinner in his honor at Convention Hall.

Acting on complaints filed at its office, the branch recently asked Col. W. E. Becker, commanding officer of the Frankford Arsenal, to investigate charges of alleged discrimination in upgrading Arsenal workers.

The complaints were filed by two Arsenal clerks, Mrs. O'Jetta Quattlebaum and Mittie Jennings, who claim they have been prevented from obtaining advance ratings on several occasions because of prejudice. The two women, employed at the Frankford Arsenal for two and a half years, declared that many of their white co-workers have been trained and promoted while they have been "by-passed."

Virginia: The VIRGINIA STATE conference of NAACP branches is going to appeal the West Point cases to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

This course of action was indicated by NAACP counsel Spottswood W. Robinson, III, and Oliver W. Hill immediately after Judge Lewis Jones imposed a $50.00 fine and thirty days in jail on each of the eight defendant parents in the King William County Circuit Court Thursday, February 5.

The cases came before the Circuit Court on appeals from convictions, in the Trial Justice Court of West Point, of the eight parents whose children were under 16 years of age on warrants charging the violation of the Virginia compulsory attendance laws. The warrants had been issued at the re-

VERSATILE *Oscar Hammerstein II, who co-chairmans, with Lena Horne, the second annual NAACP Madison Square Garden benefit on March* 23.

quest of the school superintendent, W. E. Garber, when the parents refused to send their children some twenty miles outside the corporate limits of the Town of West Point to the segregated Hamilton-Holmes high school located in King William county.

The possible outcome of the cases was indicated as the day-long trial got under way shortly after 10:00 A.M. Commonwealth's Attorney John Paul Causey opened the cases for the state. Attorney Causey declared: "The sole issue before this court is the violation of the State of Virginia compulsory attendance laws by the defendants."

NAACP Counsel for the defendants, contended that two issues were involved: (1) the compulsory school attendance laws, and (2) The state segregation laws.

Spottswood W. Robinson in his opening statement to the Court declared: "While these cases are necessarily based upon the alleged violation of the compulsory attendance laws; it is clear that it is their operation in conjunction with the segregation laws that breed the vice of the situation. The defendants submit that any action excluding the defendant's children, solely because of race or color from the West Point high school (white) denies rights of both the parent and child, secured by the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, Section 1; and by Title 8, United States Code, Section 45, and is for these reasons unconstitutional and void."

Counsel for the defense asked the Court to consider certain documentary evidence and expert testimony in support of their contention that there had been no violation of the compulsory attendance laws.

The Commonwealth's Attorney objected; the Court sustained the objections and Counsel for the defense noted exceptions. However, it was mutually agreed that the defense would be allowed to have entered into the record full testimony and evidence in support of the contention of the defendants, with the understanding that it would not be considered by the instant Court in rendering its decision.

* * *

DID YOU KNOW —

That one of the most amazing and fascinating women in Minas Geraes, Brazil, during the early 18th century was Francisca da Silva, commonly known as "Xica da Silva"?

Xica da Silva was mistress of Chief Judge Joao Fernandes de Oliveira, a fabulously wealthy diamond contractor of Tijuco in Minas Geraes. She had hundreds of servants, thousands of dollars worth of jewels and clothes, a private park and lake, a private theater, and countless houses in addition to the palace in which she lived. Because of the wealth and power of her lover, everyone paid homage to her. Dr. Joaquim Felicio dos Santos tells part of her story in "Memories of the Diamond District in the Commark of Serro Frio" (1924). The Correio da Manha (Rio de Janeiro) issue of May 13, 1951, also has a sketch of her.

★ ★ ★

College and School News

The January and February 1953 issues of the *Virginia Education Bulletin,* official organ of the VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC., edited by J. Rupert Picott, are devoted to two interesting topics: salary scales and community relations, respectively. The January number publishes the Virginia salary scale for counties and cities for the school year 1952-53; while the February issue discusses, with practical suggestions, how to get community action.

■

The January 1953 issue of *Opportunity News,* official organ of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, says that 65 young southern Negroes are now attending mixed northern colleges with NSSFNS assistance. "The NSSFNS found it a great deal harder to find these 65 students from among the 10 million Negroes in the South than it was to find almost five times that number among the 5 million Negroes in the North. The difference lies in the segregated world in which the southern Negro lives, and, more importantly, is educated."

■

More than 3,500 delegates attending the joint conventions of the AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS in Cleveland, Ohio, during the Christmas holidays adopted resolutions aimed at improving living standards and adopting civil rights measures. They also granted scholarship awards for further educational

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activities. The six Greek-letter organizations which comprise the council consist of two fraternities—Kappa Alpha Psi and Alpha Phi Alpha—and four sororities: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Zeta Phi Beta.

■

Catholics are setting an example against segregation of Negroes in Washington, D. C., declares an article in the February issue of *The Sign*, national Catholic magazine published in Union City, New Jersey. "On the college level, the score for Catholic institutions is now one hundred percent," writes Ruth Hume, author-wife of Washington *Post* music critic Paul Hume. "Five or six years ago, only the Catholic university admitted Negroes to all schools. Now Georgetown university and the two girls' colleges, Dunbarton and Trinity, have Negro students."

■

On January 27 the adult education committee of the COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK began a Tuesday-evening lecture series on "The Problems of Africa: What Americans Must Know and Do," with a distinguished panel of speakers both African and American.

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE observed international day on February 13, with students and teachers from several Ohio colleges participating. The 1953 theme was "How far is the spirit of nationalism compatible with the process of achieving world peace?"

Central State exhibited twenty paintings of Aaron Douglas, famous artist and chairman of the department of art education at Fisk, in Poindexter hall, January 24 through February 15. The Central State affiliate of the American Chemical Society held an exhibit and open house on January 20 at which time approximately 300 persons viewed demonstrations of experiments, chemical analyses, laboratory and industrial exhibits, and a movie, "The Du Pont Story."

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY observed third annual university day on February 15 at the First Baptist church, Raleigh, with Dr. William H. Borders, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist church, Atlanta, as prinicipal speaker.

The university is offering a course in audio-visual education, under the direction of Dr. M. D. Williams, during the second semester.

■

The SPELMAN COLLEGE players presented Robinson Jeffers' "Medea" in International Theatre Month, February 26-28.

■

Bishop John W. E. Bowen of the Atlanta area of the Methodist church was eleventh annual university center convocation speaker at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. The convocation address was sponsored by Atlanta,

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The university announces its 12th annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists, open to anyone with artistic ability. Formal training in the field is not a prerequisite. For the eleven best works submitted, Atlanta university is offering cash purchase awards totalling $1,400. Entry blanks should be received by the chairman of the exhibition by March 7. All works entered should be received at the Atlanta University Library, Atlanta, Georgia, by March 14.

Under the leadership of Dr. Hugo Skala, chairman of the department of economics, the economists of the university center have combined their efforts to offer a basic course on economic problems during the second semester.

The Department of State lists the university school of library service as one of the volunteer educational centers for distributing information about the United Nations and its activities.

In a convocation commemorating the 144th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, Atlanta formally received the Anna Chittenden Thayer Lincoln Collection of engravings, autographs, letters, prints, stamps, sheet music, etc. Of particular interest is a part of a log cabin in which Mr. Lincoln was born. Mrs. Thayer, an author as well as collector, is a long-time friend of Atlanta university.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE observed brotherhood month with the presentation of the annual religious panel on February 6. The panel was presented with the cooperation

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■

XAVIER UNIVERSITY presented Bizet's "Carmen" February 4-7 as its 19th annual grand opera presentation. This opera was chosen by Sister M. Elise, chairman of Xavier's department of music.

■

Public relations counsel Otto McClarrin of HOWARD UNIVERSITY was one of the speakers at the two-day session of the National Newspaper Publishers Association's mid-winter workshop held at Dillard university, New Orleans. Mr. McClarrin warned that colleges can defeat their own

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purpose by succumbing to the dictates of "well-intentioned" individuals and groups.

The Howard university board of trustees has voted unanimously to reaffirm its decision to dismiss Coach Edward L. Jackson as head of the department of physical education for men at Howard.

■

The Florida Normal and Industrial Memorial College played host to the Amigo Male Singers on January 30.

■

Samuel L. Woodard received his B.S. degree in secondary education from Pennsylvania State Teachers College (Mansfield, Pennsylvania) during the mid-year commencement exercises, with certification in English and history. Mr. Woodard is the first Negro to graduate from Mansfield in over twenty years.

■

Tuskegee Institute was host in January to the fifteenth annual farm and home short course. Specialists from several agencies of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the Alabama Extension Service, and other state agencies joined with Dean L. A. Potts and his staff to try to answer some of the farmers' questions about marketing, money management, and consumer problems.

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■

Savannah State College alumni and faculty served as leaders and consultants at the eighth regional meeting of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association held at the Oconee high school, Dublin, Georgia, in January. The department of languages and literature, in cooperation with the staff of *Tiger's Roar*, sponsored a workshop in journalism during the month of January.

Other campus activities during recent months were a visit from Ray Brock, noted foreign correspondent; a concert by noted soprano Ellabelle Davis; a statewide high school language and art festival; the annual leadership institute; a concert by the Savannah State choir; and presentation of "The Sacred Flame," under the direction of Mrs. Ethel Campbell, by the Savannah State college players.

An article by Dr. B. T. Griffith's on "Mycological Studies in the Savannah Area, 1950" has been cited by the West German journal *Zentralblatt fur Haut-und Geschlechtskrankheiten* in its September 1952 issue.

■

West Virginia State College was host in January to the second annual leadership conference. Thirty-two bachelor degrees were awarded at the sixty-first mid-year convocation, with the main address being delivered by Dr. Charles L. Hill, president of Wilberforce university.

■

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE's third great film series began on January 24 with the showing of "Blue Angel." Nine other films are scheduled for the series, including the French film, "God Needs Men" and the Polish film, "Border Street."

Organist Oswald Ragatz of the music faculty of Indiana university opened the spring lyceum series with a concert on March 13. Religious emphasis week was observed February 8-11, with a series of sermons and addresses by famous thelogian Dr. Addison Leitch, dean of Pittsburgh-Xenia Seminary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

■

Reports from the registrar's office at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE reveal that nearly 400 students enrolled for the winter term. According to the records department at Albany State, fifty-seven students made the dean's list during the fall quarter. The college celebrated Negro History Week February 9-13, with programs under the auspices of the social science department.

■

TEACHERS COLLEGE of Columbia university has awarded the Doctor of Education degree to Cleveland James Franks, former chairman of the division of natural sciences at Texas college. Dr. Franks is a graduate of Morehouse.

■

The Nashville chapter executive committee of the United Negro College Fund held its 1953 organizational meeting at FISK UNIVERSITY February 5 and named Rev. Kelly Miller Smith as head of the 1953 campaign. Dr. E. A. Selby was elected co-chairman. Last year the Nashville chapter raised $7,665.67.

Ten Fisk seniors have been selected by a student-faculty committee to represent the school in the 1953 "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges."

The university will participate in a cooperative intercollegiate examination designed to streamline precollege testing. The plan, which grew out of a conference on the Fisk campus in October 1952 of the member schools, was concluded at the December meeting of the commissioner of higher education of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes which was held in Memphis.

Other recent campus activities include presentation of the original

SAMUEL WOODARD
B. S., Penn. State Teachers College, Mansfield.

play "Toula," written by Rae Dalven, assistant professor of dramatics; presentation of James Barrie's play "Dear Brutus"; visit of Mrs. Betsy Graves Reyneau, portrait painter; and a concert by Roland Hayes, internationally known tenor.

Two anonymous Nashvillians, who have been actively interested in the program of the Fisk international student center, have just given the center a new Bell & Howell 16mm film projector and special speaking equipment.

■

BENNETT COLLEGE was host to Boston university's Seminary Singers in January. Organized in 1928 by present director Dr. James Houghton, the Seminary Singers have both white and Negro singers.

The Lincoln university (Pa.) players presented Christopher Fry's play, "A Sleep of Prisoners" on January 30.

■

José Ferrer-Canales, assistant professor of Spanish at DILLARD UNIVERSITY, has returned to the campus after a period of study and travel in Cuba and Mexico. He recently received the degree of Doctor en Letras from the National University of Mexico.

"Ancient Maya," a photographic exhibition prepared by the editors of *Life* magazine, was displayed at Dillard during January. A Dillard freshman, Deborah Bankston, 19, has been named the outstanding vocalist in the third annual scholarship contest sponsored by the B-Sharp Music Club, the New Orleans chapter of the National Association of Negro Musicians.

Dillard's first acting president, Dr. Will W. Alexander, delivered one of a three-year series of lectures on January 15 dedicated to the memory of Edwin R. Embree.

President A. W. Dent recently announced that the university has been awarded a $12,800 grant by the Ford Fund to conduct a self-study of its current educational program.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) observed its 87th founders' day in January, with addresses by Blanche Dow, president of Cottey college, Nevada, Missouri, and Claude Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, Chicago.

Lincoln and the St. Louis and Kansas City Urban Leagues will sponsor an all-university career conference May 12-13.

■

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE is offering thirty pre-induction scholarships, with stipends from $373 to $750, for the academic year 1953-54. These scholarships, which are financed through the generosity of the Ford Fund, will be available to young men who were born on or after March 22, 1937. They must be 16½ years old or under by September 22, 1953. Graduation from high school is not required, but they must have completed at least two years of high school studies.

Mrs. Winona Lipman of the department of modern foreign languages recently passed her examinations completing all requirements for the Ph.D. degree in French at Columbia university. Her thesis, "Attitudes of Diderot Concerning Primitivism," had been previously accepted.

Book Reviews

REFERENCE COMPANION

***1952 Negro Year Book: A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life.* Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, editor; Lewis W. Jones, associate editor; Woodrow Hall, chief editorial assistant. New York: Wm. Wise & Co., Inc., 1952. 11th Edition. XXII 424pp. 48 pages of photographs. $4.00.**

It is the purpose of this book to offer as much usable information about American Negroes as possible. The list of 18 contributors who aided the yearbook staff (with their individual subject fields) appears at the front of the volume; and the material in the book is divided into 27 sections, with each main section further divided into subsections. These chapters cover such areas as population, sports, civil rights, medicine, Negro press, education, politics, government, science, income and business, race relations, music, church and religious work, housing, and art. There is a 14-page index of subjects and individuals, with a few cross references. And the table of contents is followed by a list of illustrations.

What usually strikes the reviewer of a reference book, no matter how familiar he is with its material, are the hundreds of items that he never knew about before. This is certainly true of the 1952 *Negro Year Book.* Here are a few: That in 1949 and 1950, one-fourth of the people arrested in the United States for suspicion of crimes were Negroes; that New York City, with 368 Negro police on its force, tops the 252 cities which employ Negro policemen; that 146 Negroes are listed in "Who's Who in America 1950-51"; that Clement Paige, who received his degree from McGill, was one of the country's youngest Ph.D.'s in 1949; that George McDemmond of New Orleans does $200,000 worth of business a year in potato chips, pork skins, and peanut-butter wafers; that three Negro newspapers were born in 1951; and that the Negro rarely attempts humor of any kind in his writings.

"During the 1940-50 decade, there was a definite shift of Negro population away from the South to the industrial areas of the North and West," the yearbook points out. Whereas the white population of 13 southern states increased about 16 percent during the decade, the non-white increased by one-half of 1 percent. Another significant fact is that Negroes are becoming more and more an urban people. Negro females still outnumber Negro males by a ratio of 100 to 96.2. The number of Negro marriages broken by separation or widowhood still exceeds the national average. And paradoxically the proportion of Negroes in the labor force has decreased from 65.7 percent in 1920 to 55.2 percent in 1950.

This yearbook literally contains thousands of pertinent facts about Negroes in every area of Americn life. It is an indispensable reference book for the writer, editor, or teacher.

However, like any reference book it contains minor errors. For instance, at page 309 Rupert A. Lloyd is listed as "Vice Consul" in Paris, France, whereas the "Foreign Service List, October 1, 1951" lists him as second secretary and consul. He has since been promoted to first secretary of embassy. Dr. Ben Carruthers is listed at page 334 as cotranslator of "Afro-Cuban Poetry" instead of "Cuba Libre: Poems by Nicolás Guillén." Incidentally, Dr. Carruthers edited the bulletin of the Brazilian Government Trade Bureau in New York City, not the bulletin of the "Brazilian Board of Trade."

CIVIL RIGHTS

Political and Civil Rights in the United States (A Collection of Legal and Related Materials). By Thomas I. Emerson and David Huber, with a Foreword by Robert M. Hutchins. Buffalo, New York: Dennis & Co., Inc., 1952. 1209pp. $7.50.

Everyone who is interested in either the legal or social aspects of America's civil rights problems should own a copy of this book. It is a small civil-rights library and a large civil-rights bibliography in itself.

Starting with problems of the right to security of the person and running through fairness in governmental procedures, the right of franchise, freedom of speech, academic freedom, freedom of religion and racial discrimination, this book interweaves the legal, sociological, and psychological considerations involved in these topics.

The combination of legal, and what generally may be called social science materials, although very important for a proper understanding of most legal problems, is essential for a book dealing with political and civil rights. It is in cases concerned with such questions that the courts must and have directed themselves to the sources and meaning of our form of government, in addition to legislation and decisional materials. And, of course, for legislators and lobbyists concerned with civil rights, this book provides a wide range of source materials which, because of limitations of the judicial system, sometimes may not be considered by the courts, but certainly should be considered by legislatures.

A good example of the combined treatment is Chapter VIII, dealing with freedom of religion. Here, we are first presented with excerpts from Mr. Justice Rutledge's dissenting opinion in *Everson v. Board of Education,* which interprets the First Amendment in terms of contemporaneous writings and actions of Madison and Jefferson. But not limiting themselves to this controversial use of Madisonian and Jeffersonian materials, the editors furnish us with an excerpt from Murray—*Law Or Prepossessions?* 14 *Law and Contemp. Prob*. 23, (1949) protesting that Rutledge's approach, indeed, does write a religion into the constitution: James Madison's deistic version of fundamentalist Protestantism.

Next, addressed to broader considerations, there are excerpts from Jacques Maritain—*Man And The State,* presenting a Catholic viewpoint; Horace Kallen—*The Education Of Free Men,* taking the position that the study of any or all religions should be conducted by "way of inquiry into causes and consequences, on their merits, without privilege and without favor"; and Karl Mannheim — *Freedom, Power, And Democratic Planning,* a conception of the role of religion for the planner in a rapidly changing society. It is only after we have examined these historical, philosophical and sociological materials and are referred by footnotes to a large number of similar material that we turn to opinions from *Illinois ex rel McCollum v. Board of Education* and *Everson v. Board of Education,* and through notes considering state decisions involving total and partial integration of religious and public school systems, parental control of religious education, Bible reading, flag salute and other compulsory practices offensive to certain religions, etc. This integration of material provides both the lawyer and non-lawyer with something which neither could find if he limited himself to what might be called a narrow view of his own discipline.

Chapter IX, dealing with discrimination, in which this reviewer is particularly interested, contains in its section on discrimination in housing, pertinent excerpts from the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, from Weaver, *The Negro Ghetto,* and from the important Supreme Court Cases, *Shelley v. Kraemer,* 334 U. S. 1, and *Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town,* 299 N. Y. 512. Incidentally, the concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Frankfurter printed on page 1025 is made to appear to be one of the opinions in *Shelley v. Kraemer,* whereas, in reality, it is a concurring opinion in *Hurd v. Hodge,* 334 U. S. 24, 36.

The section on segregation and discrimination in education is also a thorough integration of legal and non-legal materials containing the exhaustive note in 61 Yale Law Journal 730, which summarizes the state of social science dealing with the effects of segregation in education on the segregated child.

One of the best tributes that can be paid to the book is that in preparing for the hearing of the segregation in education cases before the Supreme Court of the United States (December 9 through December 11, 1952) virtually every lawyer for the school children who were attacking segregation had a personal copy of this book at his side, as it provided ready reference to most of the substantive problems involved in those cases.

JACK GREENBERG

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AMERICA & PANAMA

(*Continued from page* 153)

workers on the Canal Zone, the threat of strangulation of the country's economy, and the failure to adjust satisfactorily and more rapidly certain diplomatic issues long pending with the Government of Panama, must be recognized as serious handicaps to the development of inter-American friendship.

Since a permament system of hemispheric security is the ultimate goal of the good neighbor policy, this system can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic and social justice. A positive and directive role in the socio-economic development of Latin-America is, therefore, obviously a function of the good neighbor policy, and the United States being the acknowledged leader in world affairs, it is generally felt that its politics as they affect Latin America must be permeated by the good neighbor philosophy.

Being considered by all Latin American nations as something of a testing ground of Inter-American relations, Panama is closely observed by transients from practically all countries in the world. It behooves the United States, then, to take definite actions in implementing the basic democratic principle with sound practices in dealing with the problems that arise on the Isthmus which involve and demand better diplomatic and human relations.

Finally, if any country in the Western Hemisphere deserves help and cooperation from the big sister of the North, that country is the Republic of Panama, whose inhabitants have shown a determined loyalty to the United States in times of emergency, and whose citizens are known for their belief in democracy and freedom in the lofty ideals of the United Nations Organization.

◆

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 163)

injury by looking upon Antilleans in exactly the same manner that he regards white Frenchmen. In other words, the French West Indian is to the African nothing but a "Toubabe." Now *Toubabe* in *petit-nègre,* or the broken French spoken by Negroes in French colonies, is roughly synonymous with the American pejorative "Peck" or "Cracker" in the mouth of a southern Negro. "In their eyes," explains Alcandre, "we are just like the whites. We have been educated as whites and instead of helping them to advance we assist in their exploitation. Although this reproach is not without foundation, I must confess that the dogmatic racism of some petty African minds, unaware of the real cause, has actually strengthened rather than weakened these divisions."

JOMO KENYATTA

WE print below part of a letter from an African commenting upon the character of Jomo Kenyatta, the Kikuyu accused of being the big boss of Mau Mau. We are withholding the writer's name for obvious reasons. We quote:

> It is alleged that Jomo Kenyatta, president of the Kenya African Union, arrested in bed, is anti-European and anti-white as such. But his British 'white' wife, assistant head-mistress of an English boarding school, describes him as a very affectionate husband and a most loving father. I suggest that there were abundant opportunities for the Europeans with whom he came into contact to encourage and not dampen Jomo's vitality, warm-heartedness and goodwill.
>
> In the twenties he led a delegation to England requesting land reforms in Kenya. That was frustrated. During World War II he lectured in Britain under the auspices of the Workers Educational Association. He taught African languages to a group of missionaries on his return from England in 1946 to enable others to understand his people. He also wrote a book entitled *Facing Mount Kenya.* It is widely known that he, with many others, abhors the color bar in Kenya. For an African to be pushed around in Britain is perhaps understandable; but it becomes unbearable in one's own country.
>
> His loving and lovable wife could not go home with him because those now in power in Kenya insist on keeping Kenya a lily-white society as in the states of Georgia and Mississippi.
>
> Until power is tempered with morality, and might is not the criterion for right, we, all of us, Black and White, will continue to live in an atmosphere of unrest. . . . After one thousand years of Christianity, we must still discuss 'race problems'. . . .

KENYA CONDITIONS

WE follow the sketch of Mr. Kenyatta with excerpts from a letter by Helen Richard in the December 27, 1952, issue of the London *New Statesman and Nation*:

Much has been said in the papers recently about the activities of the native in Kenya, and very little about the white man who employs him [for wages of 70c a week]. . . . On one farm where I stayed, wages were as low as 8c per day plus daily ration of posho (maize meal). . . .

Corporal punishment dealt out by employers should be abolished. It is just as wrong for the European to assault the native as it is for a native to assault a European. . . . While having tea in the house of a prominent settler, I was given advice as to how to deal with lazy native labor should I decide to remain and settle in Kenya; first I was warned that it was no longer legal to draw blood when giving a beating and the following is the practice which I was advised to make use of:

To get the native head boy to strip the culprit and to make him lie down under a wet sheet and to beat him through this with his kiboko.

This method, I was told, enabled one to give harder beating without any risk of blood. . . .

Other incidents which I witnessed and which struck me as conducive to bitterness and lust for revenge were:

(1) The crunching with a booted foot on the bare toes of a native, who (after working hours) did not immediately stand to attention when his white master appeared.

(2) The placing in chains of one native by another at the request of the European employer.

Further, it appears that a white motorist has no liability for damage to native cattle on the road — one, in whose car I was a passenger, did not even slow down (as he did for European cattle), but simply drove through a small flock of sheep, herded by native boys, and cut up those who did not get out of the way fast enough. His remark was: 'They are only native vermin.'

Further still, a native found drunk is promptly jailed; a European in the same state is helped home by native servants. A native carrying a parcel is liable to be stopped by a policeman and jailed if the parcel is found to contain European clothing; one excellent houseboy, to whom I gave some discarded clothing for his wife and children, was at first delighted and then very downcast because he feared arrest on the way home, which would prevent him from tilling his shamba to provide food for his family.

Personally, I also was frustrated in Nairobi by not being allowed to return invitations from Indian friends, a doctor and his wife (whose children attended public school in England) as being colored they were not allowed to enter any European hotel or tea room. At a hockey match, to which they invited me, they had to sit in one part of the enclosure while I was expected to sit in another (the European better half). Needless to say, the African natives were not allowed within the gates at all.

Still white settlers in Kenya insist that Mau Mau sprouted from the beds of the Russian Dejazmatch Balcha Hospital in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. "The people never revolt for the mere love of it," explains the Duke of Sully, "but because they cannot endure their sufferings."

NEGRO TEACHERS

IN two recent issues (February 9-10) of the *Newark Evening News* staff reporter Luther P. Jackson, Jr., discussed the future of the Negro teacher if the U. S. Supreme Court bars segregation. He cites first the problem of the Negro teacher in New Jersey when the state department of education "set out to rid

South Jersey of its segregated schools. Five years later, Negro teachers as well as their pupils are integrated in 40 out of 43 South Jersey school districts."

"Some New Jersey communities with large Negro populations," he adds, "only give token representation to Negro teachers. In some cases, Negroes are simply discriminated against. In others, no qualified Negroes have applied when there was a position to be filled. But even when there has been regular hiring of Negro teachers, there often is some reason for not promoting them. . . ."

On the probable status of the southern Negro teacher should the U. S. Supreme Court declare the segregated public schools unconstitutional, he writes:

> If the Supreme Court rules against separate school systems, Negro teachers foresee bitter years of court litigation before they teach in the public schools of the Deep South.
>
> The southern customs are rigid and the laws are unfriendly to teachers as well as Negroes. Seven of the 17 states have no teacher tenure laws. Only six of the states and the District of Columbia have tenure laws comparable to [those in] New Jersey. This state gives a teacher permanent status after a three-year probationary period. Moreover, New Jersey outlawed segregation and discrimination and set up the Education Department's Division Against Discrimnaton to act as a watchdog of civil liberties.
>
> In the southern states, the forces of government are lined up solidly against Negroes. Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia told the Supreme Court that the state's 5,243 Negro teachers would never be employed to teach white pupils. . . .

LA NEGRITA

(*Continued from page* 139)

have several times stolen all or part of it. In 1950, thieves killed one of the church guards in a successful attempt to make away with the wealth in gold and jewels surrounding the image. The rediscovery of the figure itself was a joyous occasion for Costa Ricans, who value the image above the rich surroundings they provided and replaced.

A pool that bubbles through a circular stone at the back of the church is believed to have great healing powers because of the Negrita. Numbers of pilgrims come specifically to drink the water. These grateful followers have donated many votive offerings to the shrine. Many are valuable gold or silver reproductions of the cured organ, such as a silver heart or a gold liver, while others are cheap trinkets, given with the same heartfelt devotion.

On the Negrita's own day, August 2, the image leads a solemn procession through the streets of Cartago to another church. Exactly a month later, on September 2, the Virgin is returned to her home shrine for another year.

In democratic Costa Rica, all citizens are equal before the law and in fact. But because the neighboring countries are overwhelmingly Indian, Costa Rica with only 15,000 Negroes and 2,500 Indians in an 800,000 population, is called the white state of Central America. And with this name it is fitting that her people pay religious homage to the Negrita in the spirit of all races.

"KEEP UP THE FINE WORK" *Samuel Otto, ILGWU vice-president and Pacific coast director, tells NAACP's Lester Bailey (seated left) as union official makes out* $1,000 *check to Association for its civil rights fight. From left, standing: Fannie Borax, manager Los Angeles Joint Board; John Ulene, manager Los Angeles Sportswear Joint Council; Sigmund Arywitz, educational director Pacific region ILGWU; and Isador Stenzor, manager Los Angeles Joint Board. This contribution is largest received by Los Angeles branch.* BOTTOM: *Veterans and students at Culinary Arts School, Tampa, Florida, who staged an NAACP membership campaign of their own, ending up with a* 100 *percent membership in the NAACP.*

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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Telephone: ADams 6149

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P. O. Box 232, Greenville
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- Is there an FEPC law?
- Are living facilities modern?
- Can cars be driven in winter?

These are a few of the questions often asked concerning the Territory of Alaska by people who learned about it in school books.

Alaska is important to the Negro for three big reasons: It is "America's last frontier;" it is a potential state of the Union, which would have three members in Congress; it is the first line of defense against Russian invasion. In fact, it lies in the path of the only route the Russians could travel in order to invade the United States.

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IMPORTANT BOOKS

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Black Reconstruction, by W. E. DuBois	9.00
Mau Mau and the Kikuyu, by W. S. Leakey	2.00
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